EXCLUSIVE: ANNA LOUISE STRONG—ONLY AMERICAN REPORTER IN TIBET . . . P. 3

A French-German axis confronts Eisenhower before Mr. K's visit

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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By Kumar Goshal

SHORTLY BEFORE DAWN on Aug. 26, President Eisenhower was scheduled to leave Washington to spend ten thorny days among Washington's allies in Western Europe. After a day with Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer, he was to go on to the calmer atmosphere of London. There he would brace himself for a visit with the "grandeur"-obsessed President de Gaulle of France in the first week of September.

This was the first phase of the active follow-up to the announcement that the President and Soviet Premier Khrushchev had "with pleasure" agreed on an exchange of visits. Since then the reactions have run the full emotional and political gamut. The most adverse have come from America's allies, with the major exception of Britain.

South Korea's President Syngman Rhee undoubtedly expressed the views of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan and Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam when he said he found it "difficult to see how or why the U.S. can offer its hand in friendship" to Khrushchev. Rhee said: "Nothing good and constructive can come from association with murderers, assassins and enemies of justice."

But the most worried reactions came from Bonn and the most truculent from

(Continued on Page 5)

Daily Telegraph, London
"The golfing instructor you asked for is waiting, Comrade Khrushchev . . ."

HIROSHIMA: HEADS BOWED TO MOURN THE DEAD AND THOSE WHO WILL DIE
200,000 lie under the city and 50,000 more victims of 1945 have little hope of survival

A GREAT CONVOCATION 14 YEARS AFTER THE BOMB DROPPED

Hiroshima calls to the conscience of the world

This dispatch was delayed in transit, but it holds such significance and interest—especially in view of the garbled versions of the conference printed in the U.S. press—that we feel its time value remains high.

By John G. Roberts
Special to the Guardian

HIROSHIMA, JAPAN

AT 8:15 A.M. on Aug. 6, 1945, the first atomic bomb slaughtered some 200,000 human beings. They were not all Japanese. Among them were Koreans, Chinese and others from many foreign lands, even America. They were of many faiths: Shinto, Buddhist, Christian, Moslem, Confucian. The bombing of Hiroshima was a crime not only against Japan but against the world.

At 8:15 a.m. on Aug. 6, 1959, representatives of most major nations and religions of the world were assembled with 30,000 Japanese in Hiroshima's Peace Square. Before the monument to the atomic victims, they commemorated the 14th anniversary of the tragedy. Sirens sounded; church and temple bells rang as the city's inhabitants joined us in a minute of silent prayer or meditation. Among those we mourned were the 187 persons who had died of atomic radiation in the past five years; among the mourners were 50,000 still suffering the illnesses and mutilation caused by the bomb. It was a heartbreaking moment when hundreds of doves, the rustling of their wings audible in the silence, flew upward, circled the throng and flew off toward the sea.

A THRILLING REALITY: But the moment was desecrated by low-flying planes, bombarding the assemblage with leaflets and propaganda parachutes. The rightists and super-patriots, proponents of rearmament and a closer military alliance with the U.S., were intensifying their anti-peace campaign. Few in number but tightly organized and equipped with sound trucks and uniforms, they had been prowling the city to threaten, harrass, disrupt and smear the Fifth World Congress Against A and H Bombs because of its criticism of the U.S.-Japan military alliance.

The audience ignored the handbills, most of which fell wide of the mark. But their indignation was apparent.

The existence of a fearless movement for peace is a thrilling reality in Japan. The Fifth World Congress, sponsored by the Japan Council Against A and H Bombs, includes every political and social sector of the nation. Its mass character is demonstrated by the participation of 10,300,000 men, women and children in the peace marches to Hiroshima from

(Continued on Page 4)

JIM CROW STILL RINGS THE BELL ON OPENING DAY

School integration at a standstill in the deep South

By Louis E. Burnham

WITH THE APPROACH of the sixth September following the Supreme Court's anti-segregation school ruling, the 11 deep-South, ex-Confederate states which constitute the main battleground of the struggle for Negro equality have managed to hold integration to an almost infinitesimal token.

Only four of the 2,095 school districts which include both white and Negro children in these states contemplate breaking the jimcrow barrier in the upcoming school term. And the breakthrough proposed in each instance is minimal: the total number of Negro children involved is 74. This represents an almost unmeasurable 24 millionths of 1% of the 2,637,645 who will be answering the roll call on opening day.

Despite the headlines which accompanied the early opening of Little Rock's high schools, and those which are likely to be provoked by integration in Florida, North Carolina and Virginia, the fact is that integration is at a practical standstill. Almost all the Negro pupils and 5,487,000 white boys and girls will be taking their places in the same segregated set-ups which the High Court condemned as unconstitutional more than five years ago.

METHODS OF DELAY: The segregationists rely on four main tactics to achieve this result.

- Where violence or threats of violence may still be effective in discouraging suits on behalf of Negro students, they are freely used.
- A network of state laws to hobble integration efforts has been enacted in all the Southern states.
- Time-consuming appeals before the state and Federal courts have served to delay compliance.
- When faced with final integration orders, local and state school officials have permitted "eye-dropper" integration, thus complying with the letter of the Supreme Court decision while violating its spirit.

In five states—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina—not one Negro child has been permitted to take advantage of the Supreme Court ruling during the past five years, and none will be allowed to do so in September.

"OVER MY BODY": Both Georgia and Louisiana are in the early stages of litigation. Federal District Court judges have ordered school boards in Atlanta and in New Orleans parish to prepare desegregation plans by December, 1959, and by March, 1960, respectively.

In Alabama applications for admission of Negro students to two Birmingham schools were rejected under the state's pupil placement law. The Supreme Court's judgment that the law is "valid on its face" has cleared the slate and progress toward integration awaits new initiatives by Negro parents. Gov. John Patterson has informed the nation that integration will come to Alabama "only over my body."

Though one of the key cases which gave

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THE MAIL BAG

The profit crop

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

In looking over Don West's **The Road Is Rocky,** published nearly eight years ago, I came across this stanza which might well apply to today's worries of big business:

"The specter of Peace"
Haunts Washington town
Makes a lot of senators
Run up and down!
"Peace scare" in Wall Street,
Stock market drop,
Magnates a-worrying
For their profit crop!

Harry Koger

Pen-pals a-plenty

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I have recently received many letters from students and workers (13-30) in the socialist countries who are seeking penfriends. Almost all are able to correspond in English; the remainder in French, German, Russian or Czech.

I am not able to correspond personally with all of them. I would like to distribute the remaining letters among youth sincerely interested in international correspondence.

Valerie Aldrich
27 Desbrosses St.
New York 13, N.Y.

Well pleased

BRIGHTHOLME, SASK.

I am well pleased with your courage and fearlessness in proclaiming the truth. I have often wondered why the working people of the U.S. don't support a third party and have more say in the governing of the country.

James Barrie

Pensions at 60

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I am an executive board member of a Teamster local in New York City. We feel 65 is too old to keep a man on the job. With these speedup conditions, the average man should be retired at 60. The doctors that examine us yearly on the job tell us that also.

Besides, it makes jobs for the younger men with families. We need the government pension along with our union pension to live financially.

Ben Smith

Paid Judases

TITUSVILLE, FLA.

The GUARDIAN wrote about the Hungarian revolution in 1956. This revolt was started by paid Judases, not revolutionaries—murderers! I have a sister who lived in Budapest about 60 years. In 1957 she came to see me in Bratislava and she told me how terrible it was. If one simply pointed out an individual as a Communist he was dragged out of his home; often clubbed to death, or hanged. And such terrible murderers were applauded in the U.S. as heroes.

Finally, in the April 27 GUARDIAN, there was a picture of Junius Scales, handcuffed to a policeman. I was in Hungary until 1922, at a time when Hungary was ruled by a reactionary autocratic government. But political prisoners were treated differently from common prisoners. I believe it is a shame to handcuff a man for his political beliefs. O, Glory to democratization!

Stephan Martinchek

Information, please

BELLE GLADE, FLA.

Would appreciate hearing from any one who knows of a good, reliable old people's home. Prefer one in Florida or California, and one which would appeal to freethinkers.

France Lyngholm

Unconverted?

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Perhaps those who claimed a conversion to pacifism for General MacArthur can explain why he continues to accept a huge "warrior's" pension.

Thomas Grabell

Aid For Haitians

JACMEL, HAITI

This is to announce that in addition to the 65,500 pounds of relief food we have shipped to northwest Haiti through the medium of the Church World Service, Miss Margaret E. Darby, (the signer), secretary-treasurer of the Haitian & Co-Arts Assn., and Miss Rita Scarano, a member, are in Haiti to donate and assist in the further distribution of food and clothing in the area of Jacmel.

The Haitian & Co-Arts Assn. is a non-political group composed of Haitians and people of other nationalities dedicated solely to the welfare and the advancement of the Haitian people.

Today aid is more desperately needed in Haiti than ever before. After a year without rain, the country is unable to sustain its population and it is often stated that in Haiti unusual numbers of children are dying daily from starvation.

Margaret E. Darby
Secretary-Treasurer,
The Haitian & Co-Arts Assn.,
15 New Chambers St., N.Y.C.

Thanks, party

NEENAH, WISC.

Two months ago a party mailed a copy of the GUARDIAN. I was very much impressed so I had this party send in for a trial order. It will expire soon. I don't want to miss a copy.

I am receiving quite a few liberal magazines, and being a Technocrat, my mind has received a brain-washing long ago. Reading our magazines and daily papers, one has to sift every article to find the truth.

K. Lopas

Pro-inoculation

THREE OAKS, MICH.

Desirable as organic farming is, it cannot take the place of inoculation, which aids nature in warding off diseases spread through viruses by person-to-person contacts. An alternate effective preventive against disease is self-quarantine; for instance, I avoid human contact in winter for fear of contracting influenza. Although I eat organically-grown food, I cannot argue with the fact that I was stricken with the most virulent form of influenza five years ago because I came in contact with a person suffering therefrom. Facts are stubborn things.

Otto Zarob

Evening Standard, London
"May I take this on approval?"

Children's benefit

WANAQUE, N.J.

One of the ways our children's camp, which serves children of all races from northern New Jersey and New York, has been able to provide inexpensive summer vacations is by fund raising projects to help defray expenses. This year a Bazaar will be held on Labor Day for this purpose. We would appreciate contributions of merchandise or funds to this cause.

Midvale Camp Corp.

Perlo's book

ERWIN, TENN.

Ever since Victor Perlo's great book, **The Empire of High Finance,** was published two years ago, I have found it indispensable for tracking down who is who in all the big corporations, mergers, and corporate shellgames

This Perlo book should be in every college in the land. That is, if truth and not suppression of truth is education's duty; and if youth is ever going to be allowed to learn a little about our American economic setup.

Ernest Seeman

International Publishers, 381 Park Av. So., N.Y. 16, N.Y. $4. —Ed.

Pro-pagan

CULBERSON, N.C.

Hitler boasted of his Nordic blood while we boast of our Anglo-Saxon heritage. Isn't it a shame we didn't get a little pagan blood mixed in somewhere down the line, since it seems the pagans have sense enough to live in peace with each other, while the Christian nations glorify war.

W. A. Greene

Rose Jaffe

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Rose Jaffe, a reader and friend of the paper, died Aug. 4, following her husband, Jacob Jaffe, in death by one and a half years.

Sol R. Zorfas

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 11 (UPI) — County supervisors Tuesday ordered the removal of a bust of Abraham Lincoln from the $24 million courthouse.

The action came after criticism from attorneys who said they believed the statue could prove too influential in court cases.

The bust was donated to the county last year by Dr. Emil Seletz, practicing physician and noted Los Angeles sculptor.

The Daily **Oklahoman,** 8/12/59

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L.M., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

SENATOR SMITH of New Jersey . . . wants Congress to placard the arms bill with a sign saying (sic): "Nevertheless we still are for peace, we still mean disarmament, we still love the United Nations."

• • •

What both Mr. Truman and Senator Smith are old enough to know, and ought to be honest enough to say, is that you don't get disarmament by arming any more than you get peace by talking about "the next war."

When you practice might as an arm of diplomacy it is the might, not the diplomacy, which takes the credit; any agreement from the other side, however natural and reasonable, becomes a "victory."

• • •

These devotional asides to the United Nations are out of context in the ballyhoo for the arms bill.

Jennings Perry in the National Guardian, Aug. 29, 1949

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Vol. 11, No. 46 — 401 — August 31, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

Literary double play

TINKER TO EVERS TO CHANCE — to old timers reading these lines—will recall a stellar double-play combination in baseball's hall of fame. For our own hall of fame we nominate this week the double-play combination of Corsini to Belfrage to Marzani, the trio mainly responsible for the publication in this country—day and date with the arrival here Sept. 15 of Nikita Khrushchev—of the nation's most timely new book, **Inside the Khrushchev Era.**

Of course, none of our double-players wrote the book—it was written by Giuseppe Boffa, for five years, 1953-58, Moscow correspondent for the Italian Communist newspaper **L'Unita** and now its foreign editor. To bring Boffa up to the minute in world journalism, he was one of the handful of "pool" correspondents who covered many of the events of Vice President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union for the rest of the accompanying press corps.

HERE'S HOW OUR all-star combination made their literary double-play. Gianfranco Corsini, foreign editor of **Paesa Sera,** Rome daily, read Boffa's book on publication and early in July sent it to Cedric Belfrage in London. Belfrage reads Italian well enough to find out for himself that it was a remarkable and exciting work, and sent it on via the GUARDIAN to Carl Marzani in New York, for consideration as a Liberty Book Club special.

Marzani, who reads Italian like a native (he was born there), read it rapidly and, with the agreement of his colleagues in Liberty Book Club, promptly obtained the English-language rights from Italy. A schedule was set up to translate the 300-pp. book at the rate of five pages a day, aiming at finishing the manuscript job by October, with publication perhaps in December.

Then, on Tuesday, Aug. 4, came the news that Mr. Khrushchev would visit the U.S. in September. By next morning a new schedule was substituted—translation at 25-30 pp. a day with Marzani personally doing the job; and agreement by the printer, Geo. McKibbin & Son, to take the manuscript in installments. The target: into the bookstores by Sept. 15.

The translation was finished Aug. 14 (300 pp. in 12 days); by then proofs were already in hand on the first half of the book. By Aug. 21 all proofs had been read and sent back to the printer for a press run of 15,000 copies beginning Aug. 24. Meanwhile the jacket design was completed in time for a full-page ad in the book world's bible, **Publisher's Weekly,** that same week.

The schedule for printing, cutting and binding calls for delivery of books beginning Sept. 11. If your bookstore hasn't placed an order, there is still time to get a supply on the first round, for display on Sept. 15.

THE REST OF THE DETAILS include a story which we must accompany with editorial cheers, although with mingled feelings, as the phrase goes. The good news is that Angus Cameron, co-editor with Carl Marzani of Liberty Book Club and founder of Cameron Associates, Liberty Book publishers, has been tapped for an editor's chair at Alfred A. Knopf Inc., and is sitting there right now grappling with a new set of publishing problems. He will continue as a director of Liberty Book Club, however, so we have not lost the whole of his ample, genial person to 501 Madison Ave.

Replacing Cameron Associates as Liberty's publishers is a new firm, Marzani & Munsell (100 W. 23d St., New York 11, N.Y.), which bows in with the publication of **Inside the Khrushchev Era** (see p. 5). The new name in the game is that of Alex Munsell, one of the founders of Liberty Book Club 11 years ago and a Cameron Associate for five years.

INSIDE THE KHRUSHCHEV ERA is a $5 book—and from a privileged peek at the page proofs, worth every penny of it—but for Liberty Book Club members, there is a special price of $3.50, since the book is also a Club special. For those not now receiving Liberty's monthly $1 Prometheus paperbacks, the current one is Anne Braden's **The Wall Between,** her remarkable personal story of the housing-integration fight in Louisville, Ky., for which her husband Carl was sentenced to 15 years in jail for sedition (and later freed under the Nelson Decision of the Supreme Court). Going into the mails next is a double-header, Stefan Heym's **Socialism 1959** and **Monthly Review's** collection of expert articles entitled **China Shakes the World Again.** After that, the Soviet novel, **Comrade Venka,** translated by Joseph Barnes and first published here early this year by Simon & Schuster.

A $5 bill now to Liberty Book Club will bring you a first copy of **Inside the Khrushchev Era,** your choice of a starting Prometheus paperback, and change!

—THE GUARDIAN

ONLY AMERICAN REPORTER ON THE SCENE

Tibet: Rags of the present and the hope of tomorrow

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian staff correspondent

LHASA, TIBET

IN PLANES whose cabins were not pressurized, wearing oxygen masks and flying 1,000 feet above the 20,000-foot high Tangla range, 19 correspondents from 11 countries arrived in Lhasa after a breathtaking journey.

We are the first correspondents visiting Tibet since the July 17 resolution abolished serfdom. I am the only American in the group which includes a doctor, interpreters and our hosts from the Peking **People's Daily.**

When we landed, breathless, at the Tibet airport, 14,000 feet above sea level, a reception committee met us with 13 automobiles. We drove for five hours to Lhasa, descending through a brilliant landscape of green slopes surrounded by snow-capped peaks, passing grazing yaks and goats, sparse settlements and monasteries. The cars miraculously hugged the road; none got stuck as they forded mountain streams. Finally they brought us to Lhasa as the setting sun gilded the red, white and gold Potala palace.

SWEEPING REFORMS: My first impression on arrival was the deep poverty of the people in contrast with the dazzling beauty of the country. Yet the herdsmen and peasants in incredible rags, and a long line of workers, including lamas returning from repairing a ditch, smiled and waved to us as we entered Lhasa.

They could smile because reform is sweeping every corner of Tibet with such speed that it makes ironical Indian Premier Nehru's diagnosis of this land as "a static society fearful of what may be done to it in the name of reform." The serf-owners may have feared reform, but the commoners are devouring it in big mouthfuls, big enough perhaps to give some indigestion.

After the nobles' rebellion was crushed, it was announced that on all the manors of the rebels the crops this year would go to the cultivators, without deduction for rent or tax. This was frankly a one-year emergency measure to increase production where the rebels had looted the seed and dragged away the huskiest men. Soon the barley was sprouting cheerfully—on more land than before.

SCHOOLS JAMMED: Children rushed to the few previously near-empty schools, filling them far beyond their capacity. The two Lhasa primary schools overflowed with 1,500 registrations, a newly-opened third primary school was deluged by 600 registrations.

Before a fourth could be built the people themselves had started 14 "special schools" in which youths of 20 studied reading and writing along with seven-year-olds in any premises that could be found and with any teachers who could be dragooned. By last June there were 23 such "special schools." They sprang up just as fast in the countryside.

In May people everywhere began asking impatiently: When will the reform begin? Meanwhile, many commissions from the government and the working committee of the Communist Party were touring the wide, wild land giving out seed loans and making social surveys so that the decrees, when made, would fit the actual conditions. They were deluged with collective letters from peasants: "Until usury, unpaid labor and levies that bound us through the generations are broken, we are chained."

THE RUNAWAYS: Early in June 1,200 former runaway serfs returned to Lhasa from institutes in Peking, Sian or Chengtu, where they had been studying in preparation for this day. They went to the hardest and most distant localities. All through June reports from far-flung places poured into Lhasa.

On June 28, the plenary session of the Preparatory Committee, now the local government, opened to discuss the "Democratic Reform." It may have seemed long to the serfs, but it was not quite three months since the Dalai Lama had crossed into India. Reports and views of peasant committees had been collected from all the land. Crops were thriving and children pouring into schools. The measures now to be adopted were based on discussions with many groups of different social strata.

NO FORCED LABOR: Democratic Reform was announced in two stages. The first to go into effect immediately was: "Three abolitions and two reductions"—remnants of outlawry, forced labor and personal servitude were at once abolished; land rents and interests were reduced drastically; and old feudal debts were canceled, but normal commercial loans remained.

RELIEF GRAIN IS GIVEN OUT TO THE CITIZENS OF LHASA
First in line are the old ones, orphans and stranded peasants

Peasants cultivating the land of the rebels would this year pay neither rent nor taxes, the land being confiscated. On other manors they would pay one-fifth of the crop to the owner, keep four-fifths for themselves, as the government negotiated with the owners for purchase of land and equipment.

When this was done, there would come the second stage of the Democratic Reform, the redistribution of land.

ACCUSATION MEETING: I have already experienced here a wide range of effects of the new freedom of the serf in Tibet. For example, I attended a gala dance and Tibetan opera festival in the beautiful Norbulingka park and witnessed nobles mingling with students and serfs.

I went to an accusation meeting against the big noble, Lhalu, who owns 22 manors and formerly organized several political assassinations. He was recently commander of the rebel forces in Lhasa. In the courtyard of his Lhasa manor, he faced 800 angry former serfs. Army guards stood watchfully at the entrance while organizers held a tight rein on the meeting, encouraging accusations but alert to prevent mob violence.

When a young man tried to hit Lhalu, shouting that the noble had flogged his father to death, other serfs restrained him, and his mother wept nearby. Another woman accused Lhalu also of flogging her husband to death and murdering her three children by forcing them to labor beyond their strength.

REPENTANCE ONLY: The bailiff brought out poll tax lists and a heap of records of debts incurred by the serfs over centuries of servitude, and burned them in the presence of cheering peasants. Lhalu's crimes surely merit death, but the slogans demanded only that he repent. Rebel leaders alone face such accusations; nobles who had not rebelled are invited to cooperate in the new life, to sell land, livestock and implements to the government at prices fixed by a committee in which they also are represented. Peking is ready to spend $100,000,000 to buy land this way and donate it to the peasants.

Unpaid labor and personal servtitude are legally abolished, but implementation requires peasant organizations which are springing up fast. Monasteries are carrying on religious activities but undergoing "democratic reform" as well. Lower lamas, who were no better than serfs, are gaining freedom from servitude and representation in the administration of their country.

PROTEST MOVEMENT CHALKS UP A BIG VICTORY

Un-Americans call off California teachers' inquiry

IN A MOVE widely regarded as a concession to widespread opposition, Chairman Francis E. Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities announced on Aug. 21 the cancellation of a twice-postponed investigation of public education in California.

The announcement came barely a week after Walter had notified teachers that the hearings, originally set for June and later postponed until September, would finally be held in October. The Committee said that it was voiding the subpenas of 110 teachers in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas in response to a suggestion by the California Teachers Assn. This was described by Frank Wilkinson, Secy. of the L.A. Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, as an "obvious face-saving gesture."

A NEW THREAT: The CTA, after strongly protesting the House Committee's methods, had suggested that local boards of education, under California law, could handle teacher qualifications without Federal interference. In announcing the cancellation, Walter said he was turning over to California school officials the names of the subpenaed teachers and the Committee files.

The Southern California American Civil Liberties Union quickly announced on behalf of the teachers that it was amending a pending injunction suit to prevent such action. ACLU general counsel A. L. Wirin called the cancellation of the subpenas "welcome," but pointed out that the Committee's threat to prod school boards into action against the teachers "indicates that the Committee will continue to function beyond its authority." Its responsibility, he said, "is limited to furnishing information to Congress as the basis for legislation by Congress."

"PUBLIC OUTRAGE": The L.A. Teachers Defense Comittee greeted the cancellation announcement as a response to "wide public outrage," but also condemned the new tactics of the Committee. "Serving as a detective agency for school boards," it said, "is certainly a violation of Congressional authority. This practice of punishing subpenees by inducing their employers to discharge them is not a lawful function of any Congressional committee."

Protest against the Committee hearings had been voiced by the Calif. Fedn. of Labor, embracing 1,000,000 members; the Dept. of Social Relations of the California Diocese of the Episcopal Church; the Northern and Southern California Methodist Conferences; the California Democratic Party Council; the Friends Committee on Legislation; the San Francisco **Chronicle** and several weekly newspapers, and a dozen or more defense committees.

WILKINSON'S LEAD: A resolution adopted by the Friends Committee exemplified the stand taken by thousands of individual citizens in letters to their Congressmen. It contended that "withdrawal by Congress of the mandate of the House Un-American Activities Committee would serve the best interests of freedom and democracy." Short of this, it called for cancellation of the scheduled hearings.

Wilkinson and the Citizens Committee provided the prime initiative in creating public awareness of the House probers' record of violation of the constitutional rights of free speech and association. Wilkinson himself is appealing a contempt conviction growing out of his refusal to answer Committee questions at an Atlanta hearing in June, 1958. He told the GUARDIAN: "We believe this is the first time the Committee has been forced to cancel hearings in its long and iniquitous history."

Hiroshima story

(Continued from Page 1)

Tokyo, Niigata, Koron Island and Kyushu. Some pilgrims walked for 50 days. The conference in Hiroshima brought together more than 10,000 official delegates from all parts of Japan and from 24 other countries; 10 international organizations participated.

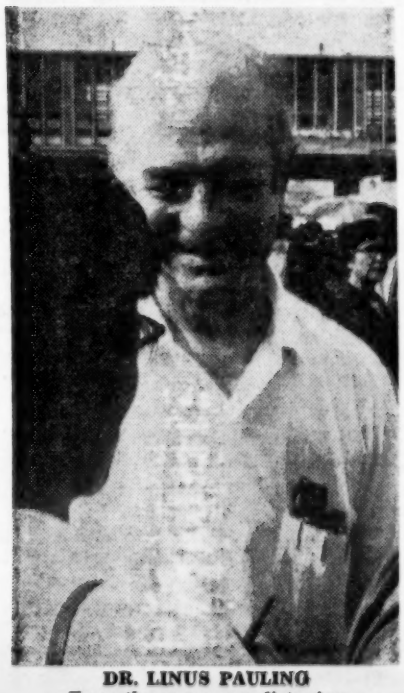
THE SECURITY TREATY: Almost all the expected Japanese delegates showed up, despite a massive red-smear campaign by the Japanese government and by most newspapers. The Liberal Democratic regime of Prime Minister Kishi is planning to sign a revised Security Treaty with the U.S. which would clearly lead to the nuclearization of Japan and to the involvement of Japanese troops in any U.S. war in the Pacific. When the Japan Council announced that the dangers of the revised treaty would be discussed at Hiroshima it was promptly attacked as "communist dominated" and as being a "false peace movement." A number of groups aligned with the Liberal Democratic Party withdrew. Funds were cut off by the Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly.

But the Conference remained united throughout the sessions and adopted the Hiroshima Appeal and the Resolutions unanimously. There was heated discussion regarding the propriety of considering political issues in such a broadly-based peace movement, but the objectors were in a small minority. The only ugly incident within the conference was the withdrawal of four foreign delegates and observers—two British and two West Germans—after three days of obstructionism during which they were given every opportunity of presenting their views. At their urging, the tone of the draft resolution was softened, and an appendix was added to take notice of dissenting views.

THE PILGRIMAGE: After years of the thin gruel of the American peace movement, we found the Hiroshima experience inexpressibly stimulating. Most exciting perhaps was the arrival of the peace pilgrimage. Foreign delegates walked in each of three columns arriving from north, south and east. Most of the thousands of marchers seemed to be farmers or workers, but there were businessmen, intellectuals and Buddhist priests too. Marching besides me was Atsushi Nishimoto, a priest of the Nichiren sect, who had started from Koron Island near Okinawa, crossed to the tip of Kyushu and marched for 55 days to cover the entire distance to Hiroshima.

Dense crowds lined the street. All the workers, clerks and shopkeepers came out to greet us. There were choral groups and whole classes of school children waving paper flags with white doves.

The afternoon heat was fierce and we were all sodden with sweat, but the magnificent spirit of the marchers and welcoming crowds was undampened. Women ran out to us with fans, ice water and cold tea; others watched us with tears streaming down, unashamed. Some stood in attitudes of prayer, and many held photographs of loved ones lost in the bombing. Beside me in the procession was an older woman pushing a stroller to which a large photograph was attached. It was of her daughter, who had died of radiation sickness only last year; the baby in the stroller was her orphaned grand-daughter.



DR. LINUS PAULING
Even the cops were listening

SILENCE FOR PAULING: Sound trucks ranged along the line with amplifiers turned up full volume to drown out the singing, cheering and weeping alike. One truck actually nosed into the head of the line, pushing the marchers off the street. Yet none of the marchers accepted the provocation.

At an outlying railway station we stopped to rest. Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Laureate of the California Institute of Technology, who was in our column, ascended a truck, preparing to speak about the sobering realities of atomic warfare. Another sound-truck began squawking nearby, but suddenly there was silence. We knew then that in this city even the police were with us. Dr. Pauling's speech won a great ovation, as did his other speeches at the great rally and at Hiroshima University.

Finally, the united columns merged in front of the new Hiroshima Memorial Museum and we marched into Peace Square.

There was no message from President Eisenhower to accompany one from Premier Khrushchev. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt sent greetings but there were few messages from other prominent Americans. There were trade-union delegates from many countries but none from the U.S. There were no representatives from Taiwan, South Korea, South Vietnam or the Philippines; and Japanese visas were denied to North Korean and Chinese delegates. If the socialist countries won a peace-propaganda victory at Hiroshima, it was by default.

Present were the mayors of Dresden and of Dortmund, in East and West Germany, respectively. An American from Hiroshima's sister-city of Honolulu, John Kelly, represented Hawaii's Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Kelly took the initiative at the final business session to clinch approval of the resolutions of the Conference.

THE MOVEMENT'S CORE: From the many ugly provocations, the uneasy suspicion rises that a revived right-wing movement, encouraged if not assisted by the Kishi government, is taking shape against the tide of popular protest. For there is no doubt that the leadership of the anti-nuclear forces has formed the core of a genuine mass peace movement. The Socialist Party, cooperating with the left-wing trade unions, has begun an all-out campaign against the Security Treaty; and even the more numerous right-wing labor central, Zenro, has taken a firm stand on the issue. While the Conference met in Hiroshima, 100,000 people, mostly workers, attended anti-treaty rallies throughout Japan.

FROM EVERY CORNER OF THE WORLD THEY CAME TO SAY THE BOMB MUST NEVER AGAIN FALL
Part of the international procession at Hiroshima before the great rally in Peace Square on Aug. 6

CLEARER VISION: A conversation that stands out in my memory was one with Prof. Ichiro Moritake, professor of ethics at Hiroshima University. He is an atomic victim. "Although I lost the sight of one eye," he told me, "I can see more clearly the way to world peace."

At a meeting I was approached by a Kyushu farmer who wanted to shake my hand. He said he was the delegate from his village, and that everyone supported the peace movement there. The village lies between two U.S. air bases at Itazge and Fukuoka. He was especially bitter against the Americans for a machine-gunning at the Fukuoka base of three children who were collecting scrap metal. All were killed, he said.

No one knows how many children were killed by the Hiroshima bomb, but the living children in the city were remarkably informed and active in the peace struggle. A group called the Orizuru Kai worked for three years to raise funds for "The Monument of the Atom-Bomb Children." The members took part in a famous motion picture called "Senzabaru" about a little girl, Sadako-san, who was suffering from the A-bomb disease. Sadako-san believed that if she folded 1,000 paper cranes, symbolic of health and long life, she would get well. But she died before her thousand cranes were finished. Her friends, deeply grieved, pledged themselves to keep on folding paper cranes (Orizuru) for other sufferers from radiation illnesses.

THE QUESTION WHY: The question I was asked most frequently was: What are the American people doing to stop nuclear war? When I had to admit the weaknesses of our peace movement, my questioners were invariably surprised and indignant. After one meeting, a 16-year old girl, a keen reporter for her school paper, said to me: "I want to know the real reasons why the Americans do not work for peace." She questioned me for three hours.

The living atomic victims themselves have been reluctant to participate in the peace program. Many are humiliated at showing their disfigured faces and bodies in public. Others are apathetic and demoralized. Most suffer from anemia, leukemia, neurological disorders, heart and liver ailments, cataracts and cancer. Others whose illness is not apparent conceal the fact because it would jeopardize their employment. This year, however, there was greater participation of the victims than ever before. Several addressed the meetings, and others met informally with foreign delegates at the Hiroshima Home for atomic sufferers, where few have any hope of recovery.

We saw scars, faces burned beyond recognition, blindness and keloids, (growths of scar tissue to which Japanese are peculiarly subject) while a specialist described the clinical symptoms of radiation illnesses and the genetic deformities expected to appear in future generations. And they told their stories, all so much the same, yet never less horrifying or moving.

NOW IS THE TIME: We were shocked to learn of the living conditions of the atomic victims, tens of thousands of whom inhabit the most squalid slums in Japan. Unable to compete in the labor market, they huddle together in shanties along the river banks. Hiroshima is now a beautiful, prosperous city, but the victims were swept aside, along with the bomb wreckage, an embarrassment to authorities and a living reproach to the unscathed who have taken their places. They are in the very lowest income category, and there is virtually no economic relief for them.

Prof. Kaoru Yasui, Lenin Peace Prize winner and Secretary General of the Japan Council, said in his report to the Conference:

"More than 200,000 atomic victims are sleeping their final sleep under the Atomic Bomb Victims' Memorial Tomb in Hiroshima City. The words of the oath are carved on the memorial tomb: 'Sleep peacefully, the fault will never be repeated.' Does their sleep continue peacefully? We have to say a sad 'no' . . .

"Now is the very time when we must make positive efforts not to allow war forces which are preparing for nuclear conflict ever to repeat their faults."

On being involved in politics

From the Declaration of the Fifth World Conference Against A and H Bombs:

A NEW MORALITY of human solidarity must be created by the forces of the peoples of the world who are struggling for the prohibition of nuclear weapons. With the growth of the common threat to man's survival, nuclear war must be prevented and renounced.

The campaign against A and H bombs is undoubtedly bound up with political questions even in the early stage. If we were afraid of being criticized as "being involved in politics" and tried to evade political implications, we would be facilitating the program of preparation for nuclear war. The first responsibility of the movement is to clarify the policy of nuclear weapons and reveal the political issues in spite of any criticism.

The application of true humanitarian principles requires the full revelation of the facts concerning nuclear policy, and on the basis of this revalation develop action to orient actual politics till a total ban on nuclear arms and war is achieved.

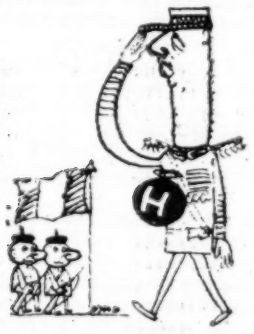
French-German axis

(Continued from Page 1)

the Paris of the Fifth Republic.

ADENAUER'S PIPELINE: Since the death of John Foster Dulles, Chancellor Adenauer has been uneasy over his relationship with the U.S. While Dulles lived, Adenauer felt sure that the cold war would continue, along with West Germany's privileged position in NATO. On several occasions he had extricated himself from tight spots by hinting broadly that he had a special pipeline to the White House.

Under Dulles' sponsorship, Adenauer squeezed all possible concessions from the U.S. to foster West Germany's rapid economic recovery and rearmament. The economic resurgence has come to fulfilling Germany's old dream of freezing Britain out of a common European market and out of markets in Asia and Africa. Nuclear weapons are within the grasp of Bonn's armed forces. The old military spirit is being revived and has



Dyad, London Daily Worker
"Blimey—unilateral suicide!"

brought about a joint weapons development program between Germany and France.

On Aug. 15 the Hamburg newspaper **Die Welt** published the results of a West German public opinion poll on rearmament conducted at the Defense ministry's request. The poll disclosed an overwhelming majority for rearmament.

BACK TO LAVAL: Bonn has backed up the French nuclear weapons development. It maintains with Paris a joint rocket-development station in Alsace. Its experts have been helping France develop the long-range rocket to carry French atom and hydrogen bombs. Noting this attempt "to supply a military basis for joint Franco-German diplomacy," the London **New Statesman** said (Aug. 15):

"This astonishing reversal of traditional enmities—the culmination of the policy Laval formulated in 1940—springs from Franco-German recognition that they have a common interest in the maintenance of cold war tension. Since 1947 it has been a major object of French diplomacy to secure U.S. financing of her colonial wars."

The **New Statesman** said that during the seven-year Indo-China war, in terms of external payments France even made a profit on U.S. financing of that war. In the Algerian war, despite a slackening of U.S. financial aid, Washington has been footing a third of the bill and, under off-shore agreements, supplying nearly all the modern equipment used by the French army. The **New Statesman** added that the chief asset of Adenauer and de Gaulle "is America's fear of Russia." It said that they had formed "an unholy alliance to preserve the atmosphere of permanent crisis from which they derive their strength."

FRANCE'S DEMANDS: Before the President's departure, Adenauer was reportedly planning to urge him not to yield (1) on West Berlin; (2) on any form of recognition of the East German government, or (3) on the Soviet suggestion for East-West German talks on German reunification.

French officials had given a preview of what they were going to tell Eisenhower. On Aug. 16 Premier Debré said France would "demand" from its allies "the most complete support" of its Algerian war and added: "The destiny of France is linked with that of Algiers. Our security, our possibilities of economic independence, our new resources are at stake." He accused France's allies of coveting Sahara oil, seeing "in the sands of the Sahara a source of riches, therefore of power, for the coming years."

De Gaulle has been insisting on an Anglo-French-American top directorate for NATO—a point of difference with Adenauer. De Gaulle, it was said, felt that Eisenhower was going as a "lone horseman" to confer in the enemy camp. Thus he felt that NATO members had no obligations of joint action and France was free to organize and lead a "third force" of European powers. He also was expected to repeat his demand for U.S. aid in joining the nuclear club.

Even in Britain Eisenhower's welcome was not expected to be without some twitting, for the British were human enough to take some credit for the post-Dulles thaw.

SOVIET REACTION: There were similarities as well as distinct differences in the Soviet and U.S. reactions to the Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchange. Without exception, the Soviet people have expressed their reaction. Eisenhower has always been popular with them; in the Soviet press he has rarely been identified with the "warmongers." A N.Y. **Times** correspondent wrote:

"There has been an amazing thaw here. The announcement of the exchange of visits . . . has been the signal for an entirely new relationship between Soviet officials and foreigners, especially Americans. The Soviet officials . . . have actually sought out foreigners and have joked and toasted and thumped backs and pumped hands, have given private telephone numbers and accepted lunch dates.

"This is Moscow's way of reflecting Khrushchev's declarations that a meeting between the heads of the two most powerful states in the world can break the ice of the cold war and produce a rapprochment between the two rival giants."

AMERICAN REACTION: In the U.S., reaction has been mixed. A **Times** cross-country sampling indicated "widespread approval of Khrushchev's visit." Most newspapers have welcomed the exchange. But with the exception of Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.), most Congressmen who expressed themselves have opposed

Grove, Canard Enchaine, Paris

inviting Khrushchev to address a joint session of Congress.

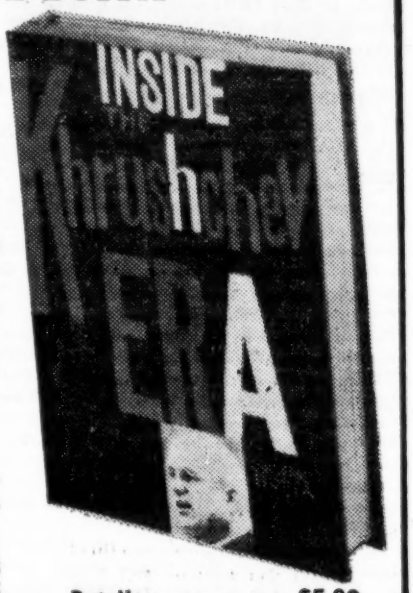
Fulbright conceded that exchanges of views at the top might cause "painful adjustments" among Western allies; but he noted that Eisenhower would consult these allies and hoped the reciprocal visits would become a "sort of an introduction" to a new form of diplomacy dealing with East-West tensions.

MEANY SAYS NO: At a meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council on Aug. 20, President George Meany steamrollered through a resolution opposing an invitation to Khrushchev—suggested by Administration officials—to address the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco next month. Auto workers president Walter Reuther and Intl. Union of Electrical Workers president James Carey, while agreeing with Meany on "the basic immoral character of communism," said they planned to invite the Soviet Premier to a private gathering of union leaders.

Khrushchev's schedule shapes up thus: Sept. 15-16 in Washington; Sept. 17-18 in New York, where he will address the UN on Sept. 18; Los Angeles on Sept. 19; San Francisco Sept. 20-21; Des Moines and Ames, Iowa, Sept. 22-23; Pittsburgh Sept. 24, and Washington Sept. 25-27. Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. chief delegate to the UN, will accompany him on his tour.

INSIDE the KHRUSHCHEV ERA

By GIUSEPPE BOFFA



Published in Italy only two months ago this book was translated and rushed through the press for publication on September 15, the day Khrushchev arrives in Washington, D.C. as guest of the U.S. Government. It is written by a critical but friendly Italian newspaperman who worked in the USSR for the last five years as the correspondent of L'Unita, official daily paper of the Italian Communist Party.

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School integration

(Continued from Page 1)

rise to the 1954 decision originated in Clarendon County, S.C., integration efforts in that rural community have been stalemated by violence, economic reprisals and judicial delay. No suits have been initiated in other areas of South Carolina, not even in the more likely urban centers of Charlestown and Columbia.

In Mississippi the segregated status of the state's 151 school districts remains unchallenged.

INCHING ALONG: In the other Southern states movement has been inch-wise and, in at least one instance, backward. After a year of turmoil and another of closed schools, Little Rock on Aug. 12 reopened its four high schools on the basis of the school board's original plan of gradual integration. Sixty Negro students applied for admission to three previously-white schools. While nine had attended Central High under U.S. Army surveillance during the 1957-58 year, only three were admitted for the new term. Two others of the original Little Rock Nine were reassigned to all-Negro Horace Mann High.

Three girls were selected to be the first Negroes to enter Hall High School, with a student body of 600. No Negro applicants were admitted to Tech High.

The first days of school were peaceful at Hall. One of the Negro girls reported she was treated "just like any other new student."

At Central, however, 200 fanatical fol-

lowers of the Capital (White) Citizens Council and the Mothers League of Central High staged a demonstration. Their efforts to breach police lines and storm the school were repulsed with fire hoses and billies and 20 demonstrators were arrested. Peaceful school days followed this display of the determination of municipal authorities to maintain order, but no one could be sure how long quiet would prevail.

A GROWN-UP GIRL: Gov. Orval E. Faubus had warned: "To you, the puppets of the Federal Government, who have betrayed your people, I say that victory is not yet yours. Your troubles are just beginning."

On opening day at Central only one of the three admitted Negro students, Jefferson Thomas, was scheduled to appear. Carlotta Walls was completing summer studies in Chicago and Elizabeth Eckford had discovered she had enough credits to enter college.

Elizabeth decided, however, that she would go with Jefferson on the opening day. "I just can't let Jeff go back there alone," she said. "I know how bad it was when there were nine of us. It would be 10 times as bad if no one was with him."

Sitting in the home of NAACP leader Mrs. Daisy Bates as the youngsters prepared to leave, Elizabeth's mother said, "My child has grown up."

Asserting that the school board had used school redistricting and the pupil placement law to minimize rather than facilitate school integration, NAACP attorney Wiley A. Branton filed suit in Federal court to force the admission of all 60 Negro students who had applied. Meanwhile, 20 of the students requested the board to review their applications.

MIAMI'S GHOST SCHOOL: Elsewhere in Arkansas limited integration was expected to continue in Fort Smith, Van Buren, Charleston, Hoxie, Bentonville, Fayetteville and Hot Springs. In Ozark segregationists have twice caused the withdrawal of Negro students despite a desegregation policy adopted in 1957. New attempts at enrollment are forecast.

Arkansas State Press

"You hit the picket line, and we'll take integrated school!"

Efforts to carry out a court order directing the admission of a few Negro children to a white school in the Dollarway school district at Pine Bluff may also meet with feverish opposition. Pine Bluff, 42 miles south of Little Rock, is at the edge of the cotton plantation belt of Arkansas.

Florida's first attempt at integration will take place in Miami where the Dade County school officials have assigned four Negro children to the Orchard Villa Elementary School. In the past few years, however, the school neighborhood has changed from predominantly white to almost all-Negro. White enrollment at the school dropped from 420 a few years ago to 130 last June and is still declining. The prospect is that the four Negro children will be admitted, not to a going institution, but to a ghost school.

80-MILE ROUND TRIP: One more desegregated school district in North Carolina will bring the total in that state to five. Two schools in Havelock, Craven County, will admit 15 pupils each. All these pupils are children of military personnel at the Cherry Point Marine base. Desegregation already begun in other school districts will be furthered as follows: in Charlotte a high school and a junior high school have each assigned a Negro pupil; three Negro children in Winston-Salem have been assigned to an elementary school; another elementary school, in Greensboro, will accept seven Negro pupils.

In Yancy County, N.C., the school board has turned down the request of 27 Negro students to enter white schools, the only kind in the county. Previously Negro students have had to travel 80 miles round trip daily to attend Negro schools in Ashville. Their parents have announced they will appeal the board's decision in the courts.

ANOTHER 25 YEARS? Virginia will add one newly integrated school district with the admission of nine Negro youth to Venable Elementary School and three to Lane High, both in Charlottesville. No new districts will be opened up to integration in Tennessee or Texas, though Nashville will extend its grade-a-year integration plan to the third grade. School boards in both Dallas and Houston are under Federal court orders to present integration plans after the school year begins.

Dallas school superintendent Dr. W.T. White refused to outline for NAACP counsel Thurgood Marshall what his board intends to do. Instead he forecast that the completion of integration in Dallas may take 20 to 25 years.

Marshall, nevertheless, is reported to have told newsmen that "the school desegregation picture is improving. I think it is unquestionably getting better each year."

And so, one could say, does a tortoise move. Unquestionably.

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—Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (Encyclopedic Edition).

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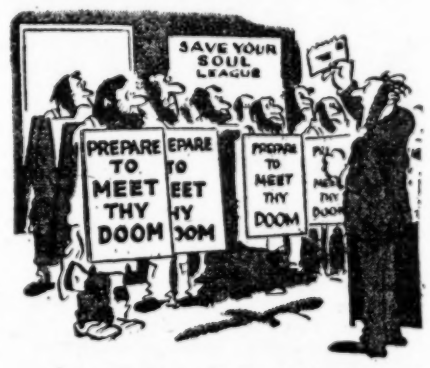
THE GALLERY

THE OLD DOMINION BOX CO. of Charlotte, N.C., returned a pamphlet it had received from a social welfare agency with the pamphlet's union label circled in red. Attached was this note: "This is a union label. It is one of the union leaders' coercive tools used in their efforts to help bring about compulsory unionism. We believe every man should be free to choose whether or not he wants to be a member of the union. Therefore we object to your use of this discriminatory label. Tell your printer to omit the label on future jobs. Print it anywhere—but please do not use the label. We cannot with clear conscience do business with you or support your cause as long as you continue to use the label." . . . The latest statistics show 3,970,000 golfers in the country and 5,745 courses . . . From Israeli Prime Minister Ben Gurion's speech in the parliament during the debate on selling arms to West Germany: "It was not I that put Western Germany where it is, but the Almighty, and this Germany is becoming a factor of great importance in its region, and this region includes France." . . . The Alabama legislature recently passed a bill extending the state sales tax to 31 previously untaxed items, including school lunches and liquor . . . National Dairy is planning to introduce liquid instant coffee in aerosol cans. Now, if the Rumanians would put H-3 in an aerosol can, the two could be combined in an elixir of youth and vitality. Sugar, anyone?

IN A RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOK, The Power of Prayer on Plants, Rev. Franklin Loehr describes his experiments. In one, a ten-inch circular cake pan filled with earth was divided by a piece of wood. On each side of the divider 23 kernels of corn were planted. For eight successive days "positive prayer" for growth was offered for one side and "negative prayer" against growth was offered the other. Result: "Sixteen sturdy little seedlings greeted us on the positive side. On the negative side there was but one."



London Daily Mirror
"Who sent me this threatening letter?"

Against the "negative" seedling Loehr directed "several brief bursts of negation—strong mental commands to grow no more." Soon, Loehr says, "the top of it darkened and withered and it remained in the stunted, non-growing condition."

Loehr involved others in his experiments. Some were better at it than others. One woman had a poor record on "positive prayer," but when she prayed her seedlings down, they showed hardly any life. She would stand over the seedlings and shout, "Communists!" Loehr says: "Those poor seeds seemed to twist and writhe under the negative power showered on them."

After reading about Loehr's experiments in **Time,** James R. Aback wrote **Time** this letter: "I have a suggestion that will save American taxpayers some $5 billion a year. Why not have our Congress negatively pray that the surplus farm crop should not grow?"

IN ITS PUBLICATION FOR EMPLOYES, the Atomic Energy Commission says that the type of shoes women wear "are more dangerous than fallout." The comment was in answer to female employes' suggestions that some of the scientific know-how around the office should be put to making the floors less slippery . . . One of the hits of the Moscow International Film Festival was Brigitte Bardot for her performance in "Babette Goes to War." Producer Raoul Levy said he had been apprehensive that Russians would not take to his light treatment of war. But the Moscow audience laughed heartily as Mlle. Bardot, as a fully-clad Free French agent, lured a Nazi general into a trap . . . Vice President Nixon was reported to have sustained a lump on his left forehead where a bouquet landed during his welcome in Warsaw.

— Robert E. Light

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Intellectuals U.S.A.

In the Soviet publication New Times *(July) there appeared an article entitled "Intellectuals and American Society" by Barrows Dunham, former professor of philosophy at Temple University and author of* Man Against Myth—and Giant in Chains. *In the article Dunham gave his definition of an intellectual and described his place in society. He described the corruption of the American intellectual, especially during the severest years of the witch-hunt (Dunham himself was a victim) and the courageous and often lonely fight of those intellectuals who have stood up against the inquisition. Among them he singled out Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and Dr. Linus Pauling. Then he asked whether as a result of the changes wrought in the struggles of progressive intellectuals they could speak now with their "true, undistorted voices" and be heard. He was optimistic, and he gives his reasons below in an excerpt from the article.*

NOW, THERE IS NOTHING an American more hopes for in another person, or more delights to find, than sincerity—the correspondence of acts with professions, of deeds with words. And sincerity cannot be more vividly displayed than when a man makes sacrifices on behalf of principle. This virtue is precisely what American progressives have displayed, and it has set them before their fellow-citizens as men worth listening to, as men who will not deceive. They thus have an advantage which even their rulers do not for the most part possess.

Moreover, having now become respected public figures, these men may now and then regain access to the media of communication. They are "newsworthy," and newspapers will occasionally print what they say. Some of the Hollywood writers are employed again. Editors and publishers are of course members of the bourgeoisie and have allowed themselves to be committed to the cold war, but they are not so corrupt as automatically to refuse a good manuscript when they see one. They will balance risks against merits, and possibly publish after all.

What I mean to say is that American intellectuals are not confronted with "one black reactionary mass," but with various opportunities strewn among many difficulties.

Indeed, descriptions of American affairs may err from a too ready acceptance of the Nazi parallel. No doubt the American bourgeoisie has exerted upon its people enormous pressure for conformity. It is rich and can be prodigal of inducements; it is powerful and can compel. But the ability to do these things is not identical with getting them done. The rulers of the United States have to deal with a basically intractable people, a proud and ingenious people, who do not submit so tamely to governments as many intellectuals do. When one path seems blocked, they try another, until in the course of time the strength of the people reasserts itself and moves society forward.

Poland Magazine, Warsaw

WE HAVE MANY EXCELLENT COMPOSERS, poets and painters. I can think, indeed, of two or three geniuses; doubtless there are others, and many more who believe themselves to be so. We have admirable performers in the dance, the theater, the concert hall. I can't say much for our literary critics: these unfortunate people, whose subject is necessarily other men's work, are a kind of nuisance anywhere. But we have a number of able philosophers, who clarify thought and advance it as much as non-Marxists can.

Side by side with these are, of course, the paid hacks, the careerist professionals, the timid men whose chief wish is to remain obscure. This shapeless mass, passive towards exerted power but writhing inwardly with competition, will, I suppose, remain a weight upon our society. I doubt that even a revived labor movement would have much effect on it. The ultimate union of intellectuals and society appears to be an achievement reserved for the socialist epoch.

So saying, I come to the greatest single defect to be found in the American scene, the absence of a militant movement for socialism, based on the working class. Such a movement existed in the 1930's, and its collapse defines the difference between that time and now. Without it, reforms are still possible, but even they become more difficult. With it, a great deal could be done.

IN THE LIGHT OF THIS, perhaps you will appreciate how remarkable it is that Americans do as well as they do. They have thus far repulsed fascism at home, with very few people to explain to them the class origins of fascism and with very many people to conceal those origins under attractive covering. They have, throughout the past decade, maintained a silent, steady pressure for peace, despite all incitements and propaganda. The fact is that they want to be friends with the world, and their rulers know it.

I point, you see, to what is good in us, and I only wish the quantity of good were larger. As for the general balance of light and dark, I must tell you this: I have, during twelve years, often worried and sometimes despaired. Yet, whenever these fits came over me, something always happened, the work of my fellow-Americans, which removed the ground of anxiety. I have come to faith and hope in my countrymen, and I would be contradicting my own experience if I did not urge you to do likewise.

—Barrows Dunham